to the impact of Indonesian culture. The giving and exchange of gifts, of *gerri*, is an important accompaniment of much of the ritual that takes place in Arnhem Land and is an integral part of the behaviour which is obligatory between relatives of certain orders within the kinship system. A number of special relationships, of which one, *tjukarŋo*, is mentioned on page 75, are also characterised by the exchange of possessions.

And again, the fact must be stressed that the ceremonial exchange cycle is not merely a matter of exchange or barter, although the economic exchange is a vital accompaniment, but that a man having once established a place in the *kumur märnda* relationship, must reciprocate with the appropriate *gerri*. As one of my informants said (page 79), "*Must* I give *wetj*"—"I *must* reciprocate." And again, when he is offered a gift, a man cannot refuse it—he *must* accept it—and after holding it for the period permitted by custom, pass it on to one of his partners. When people of an inland clan, who are partners in the *kumur djalk* and *kumur kärin* directions, brought big ceremonial presentations of flint spear heads, boomerangs, forehead fillets (*küllämba*) and large ceremonial hair belts and other *gerri*, to their exchange partners in *kumur muadäk* the people would have no choice. They would be obliged to accept the *gerri* brought by the visitors and to reciprocate. The *gerri* appropriate to each quarter are defined by tradition, and again, it was stated that tradition lays down the rule that *gerri* from one *kumur* may not return to the quarter in which they originated. The practical effect of this custom would be to make it difficult for the people of the coast to have a monopoly of iron implements, such as axes, knives, iron spear heads, wire for fish spears, even if they wished to do so. It would be impossible for them to possess these without the knowledge

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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of their immediate neighbours who could solicit such *gerri* by themselves making substantial ceremonial presentations, requiring appropriate return gifts.

The social implication of the *kumur märnda* relationship is such that if the inland people maintain a constant stream of *gerri* to their neighbours to the north, these must be reciprocated, with resultant increase in the volume and tempo of the exchange cycle. It will be evident that under this system it would be impossible for any man to accumulate, or to hold permanently, much *gerri*. To do so would mean to default in his obligations to exchange partners. He would lose prestige and social status. His social personality would suffer, which, to these people, would far outweigh the value of the possessions. The functional importance of the exchange system and the vital part it plays in the social and ceremonial life of the people of Arnhem Land, as well as the stimulus which it must have received through the coming of the Macassar visitors, is evident. The Macassar influence is important not merely as a source of the greatly valued *muadäk*, but also for the incentive which this gave to the inland groups to send up *gerri* to *kumur muadäk*, which they knew must be reciprocated with the articles which they valued, and which were most important to their own social life and economy. And by no means the least important feature of the ceremonial exchange cycle was the part it played in overcoming the effect of the segmentary organisation, which would tend normally to restrict communication, a fact to which reference has already been made.

The facts which have been presented, although they deal with one relationship only, will suffice to show that the influence of the Macassar visitors on the economic life and ceremonial exchange cycle of the natives of Arnhem Land